

McFall  
McIntire  
McMillan  
Macdonald  
Madden  
Mahon  
Martin, Mass.  
Matthews  
Miller, Calif.  
Mills  
Minish  
Montoya  
Moorhead  
Morgan  
Morris  
Morrison  
Moss  
Muiter  
Murphy, Ill.  
Murphy, N.Y.  
Murray  
Natcher  
Nezgi  
Nix  
O'Hara, Ill.  
O'Hara, Mich.  
Olsen, Mont.  
Olson, Minn.  
O'Neill  
Patman  
Patten  
Pepper  
Perkins  
Philbin

Pickle  
Pilcher  
Poage  
Pool  
Powell  
Price  
Pucinski  
Purcell  
Rains  
Randall  
Reifel  
Reuss  
Rivers, Alaska  
Rivers, S.C.  
Roberts, Ala.  
Roberts, Tex.  
Rodino  
Rogers, Colo.  
Rogers, Tex.  
Rooney, N.Y.  
Rooney, Pa.  
Roosevelt  
Rosenthal  
Rostenkowski  
Ryan, Mich.  
Ryan, N.Y.  
St. Onge  
Scott  
Secrest  
Selden  
Senger  
Sickles  
Sikes  
Sisk

Slack  
Smith, Iowa  
Staebler  
Steed  
Stephens  
Stubblefield  
Sullivan  
Taylor  
Thomas  
Thompson, La.  
Thompson, Tex.  
Toll  
Trimble  
Tuck  
Tupper  
Tuten  
Udall  
Ullman  
Vanik  
Vinson  
Watson  
Watts  
White  
Whitener  
Whitten  
Wickersham  
Williams  
Willis  
Wilson  
Charles H.  
Winstead  
Wright  
Young  
Zablocki

#### NAYS—203

Abbutt  
Abele  
Adair  
Alger  
Anderson  
Arends  
Ashbrook  
Ashley  
Aspinall  
Auchincloss  
Avery  
Ayres  
Baldwin  
Baring  
Barry  
Bates  
Battin  
Becker  
Beermann  
Belcher  
Bell  
Bennett, Fla.  
Bennett, Mich.  
Berry  
Betts  
Bolton  
Bolton, Frances P.  
Bow  
Brademas  
Bray  
Brock  
Bromwell  
Broomfield  
Brotzman  
Brown, Ohio  
Broyhill, Va.  
Bruce  
Burton, Utah  
Byrnes, Wis.  
Cahill  
Cederberg  
Chamberlain  
Chenoweth  
Clancy  
Clark  
Clausen  
Don H.  
Clawson, Del.  
Cleveland  
Cohelan  
Collier  
Conte  
Corbett  
Cramer  
Cunningham  
Curtin  
Curtis  
Dague  
Dent  
Derounian  
Derwinski  
Devine  
Dole  
Dwyer  
Ellsworth  
Fallon  
Feighan

Findley  
Fino  
Fisher  
Fogarty  
Ford  
Foreman  
Frelinghuysen  
Fulton, Pa.  
Gialmo  
Gibbons  
Glenn  
Goodell  
Goodling  
Griffin  
Gross  
Grover  
Gubser  
Gurney  
Haley  
Hall  
Halleck  
Harding  
Harrison  
Harsha  
Harvey, Ind.  
Harvey, Mich.  
Hoeven  
Hoffman  
Horton  
Hosmer  
Hutchinson  
Jennings  
Jensen  
Johansen  
Johnson, Calif.  
Johnson, Pa.  
Kastenmeier  
Kilburn  
King, N.Y.  
Knox  
Kunkel  
Kyl  
Laird  
Langen  
Latta  
Lindsay  
Lipscomb  
Lloyd  
McClory  
McCulloch  
McDade  
McLoskey  
MacGregor  
Mailliard  
Marsh  
Martin, Calif.  
Martin, Nebr.  
Mathias  
May  
Meader  
Michel  
Miller, N.Y.  
Minshall  
Monagan  
Moore  
Morse  
Morton  
Mosher

Nelsen  
Norblad  
O'Brien, N.Y.  
O'Konski  
Osmers  
Ostertag  
Passman  
Pelly  
Pike  
Pillion  
Pirnie  
Poff  
Quite  
Quillen  
Reid, Ill.  
Reid, N.Y.  
Rhodes, Ariz.  
Rhodes, Pa.  
Rich  
Riehlman  
Robison  
Rogers, Fla.  
Roudebush  
Roush  
Roybal  
Rumsfeld  
St. George  
St. Germain  
Saylor  
Schadeberg  
Schenck  
Schneebeli  
Schwelker  
Schwengel  
Shipley  
Short  
Shriver  
Sibal  
Siler  
Skubitz  
Smith, Calif.  
Smith, Va.  
Snyder  
Springer  
Stafford  
Staggers  
Stinson  
Stratton  
Taft  
Talcott  
Teague, Calif.  
Thomson, Wis.  
Tollefson  
Utt  
Van Deerlin  
Van Pelt  
Wallhauser  
Weaver  
Weltner  
Westland  
Whalley  
Wharton  
Widnall  
Wilson, Bob  
Wilson, Ind.  
Wylder  
Wynman  
Younger

#### ANSWERED "PRESENT"—4

Green, Oreg. Hanna  
Carey  
Casey

#### NOT VOTING—15

Burleson  
Cameron  
Dowdy  
Elliott  
Gilbert  
Griffiths  
Lankford  
Lesinski  
Matsunaga  
Milliken  
O'Brien, Ill.  
Sheppard  
Teague, Tex.  
Thompson, N.J.  
Waggonner

So the resolution was agreed to.  
The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:  
Mrs. Griffiths for, with Mr. Casey against.  
Mr. O'Brien of Illinois for, with Mrs. Green of Oregon against.

Mr. Carey for, with Mr. Teague of Texas against.

Mr. Sheppard for, with Mr. Hanna against.  
Mr. Gilbert for, with Mr. Waggonner against.

Mr. Matsunaga for, with Mr. Cameron against.

#### Until further notice:

Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Lankford.  
Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Elliott.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, on this vote I have a live pair with the gentleman from California [Mr. SHEPPARD]. Had he been present he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." Therefore, I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS]. Were she here she would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." Therefore, I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'BRIEN]. If he were present, he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." Therefore, I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE]. Had he been present he would have voted "nay." I voted "yea." Therefore, I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### UNITED NATIONS SHOULD ACT ON ANTI-SEMITISM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on March 24, I addressed the House once again on the subject of anti-Semitism, and noted specifically that progress had been registered in the effort to secure a universal condemnation of this hateful disease through the United Nations.

Today, I wish to stress the urgency of pressing the matter to a final conclusion in the months ahead. Our Government must not allow the issue to be delayed by the avalanche of other problems facing the United Nations at its autumnal General Assembly meeting. Nor must we permit the inherent difficulties in procuring this effective, world condemna-

tion to wither our spirits or weaken our perseverance.

I must say that the development of codified international law will always represent one of the more enduring contributions in our patient drive for law and order in the world. The endeavor to enact a globally recognized clause on anti-Semitism necessarily fits into this pattern.

In the postwar period we have been dealing with the attempt to make world law more closely applicable to the individual. International law has been traditionally the law governing the relations between states. The Nuremberg trial was an opening landmark in reversing this age-old pattern. Since then the United Nations has been the scene of further progress in securing for the person a dignity and an identity which is not contingent upon the vicissitudes and precariousness of the nation-state structure.

Certainly, we hold no illusions. The road to greater penetration of law is long and hazy. We must cling to patience in a world where the tendency is to concentrate overly upon the here and now.

The achievement of universally recognized law is not an overnight affair. The principles and customs which have been built up over the years are still subject to flagrant violations.

In the continuing effort to strengthen and broaden this body of law, we know that we realize a step-by-step success only after the most detailed deliberations. This is as it should be. Governments concerned must know that their interests are being protected. The negotiated instrument will very rarely, if ever, represent the optimum. But, conversely, history records that a written agreement is doomed from the beginning unless the parties to it become, through the negotiation process, fully sympathetic to the final product.

And so it is only with, and not in spite of, the pull and tug of diverse interests that a system of norms is erected. Each must in the end give a little toward the whole.

International law is created by bits and pieces. Nothing is ever accomplished in one sweeping motion. And so we must recognize that in a clause, or in a particular article, not all our objectives are fulfilled. At the same time, it is the little-publicized steps which in the end become the only sure method of realizing a universally accepted structure of rights.

The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations has considered favorably, and has forwarded to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, a clause condemning anti-Semitism for insertion in the draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This was an initiative of our Government. I fervently hope that the General Assembly shall rule affirmatively on this article when it considers the draft convention. The article reads as follows:

States parties condemn anti-Semitism and shall take action as appropriate for its speedy

eradication in the territories subject to their jurisdiction.

The Soviet Union offered an amendment to the article which would insert nazism, neonazism, and genocide as offenses along with anti-Semitism.

I do not think the singly identified practice of anti-Semitism should be diluted by adding other offenses. The effect may well be to correlate anti-Semitism with nazism or genocide. But anti-Semitism is not solely a Nazi invention, and it would be unwise to restrict its reputation by associating it with nazism, which is more or less a hellish thing of the past.

Moreover, to include genocide would be most inappropriate. We have already in existence a genocide convention, operative as between ratifying states. Lamentably, this instrument has remained closeted with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for more than a dozen years.

We should be suspicious of any attempt to connect the practice of anti-Semitism, in an international agreement, with specific political movements. To restrict its definition would open up holes for those delinquent states to merely continue the hideous policy under another banner.

I also urge upon our Government the absolute necessity of including clearcut measures of enforcement in the draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which will, of course, be applicable to the inserted anti-Semitism clause as well.

The additional measures of implementation for a good offices committee, discussed only in the Subcommittee on Discrimination and Minorities, must be enacted, or in its stead some other distinct means for implementation. The Soviet Union objects to this inclusion, but I am afraid that the draft convention, along with the condemnation of anti-Semitism, will be woefully ineffective unless the parties can reach agreement upon a vehicle for proper enforcement.

Along these lines I have introduced a resolution expressing the sense of this House that the President, through our delegation to the United Nations, should take all further steps to secure in treaty form a universal condemnation of anti-Semitism.

Such action can only become meaningful if the contracting parties are called upon to execute that condemnation. Accordingly, my resolution urges upon our Government; the simultaneous attainment of a forthright pledge from each State to stamp out the practice within their borders. In addition, that United States is called upon to ensure that appropriate means of mutual enforcement are adopted to give effect to each such solemn pledge.

I am mindful of the difficulties, particularly in getting Soviet Russia to agree beforehand to an adequate system of implementation. The Soviets have been the most consistent violators of nondiscrimination. Therefore, their exclusion from the proposed treaty, because of an unwillingness to accept articles of execution, could prove disastrous to the whole effort.

The Soviet Government covertly permits and fosters a subtle, yet severe, anti-Jewish policy. There still exists in that country the ban on the establishment of Jewish schools; Moscow's last kosher meatmarket remains closed; publications are restricted to the extent that only six books in Yiddish have been published since 1953, no Hebrew Bible since 1917, and no Russian language Old Testament in recent years; continual prohibition on Jews from holding high public office; arrest and execution of many Jews for so-called economic crimes.

Regarding the latter point, it has been estimated that although the Jews account for only 1.9 percent of the entire Russian population, 55 percent of those sentenced to death since economic crimes law of 1961 took effect have been Jews.

I cannot conceive of an effective world ban on anti-Semitism unless it includes the Soviet Union. And this immediately indicates the difficulty we still face.

Nevertheless, we must press on, remembering also that anti-Semitism is not exclusively a Communist phenomenon. It exists and festers everywhere.

Despite the obvious difficulties, and many uncertainties, we do have the possibility of outlawing anti-Semitism before us. This in itself is no mean accomplishment. This is an opportunity we must grasp and see through to the end.

Anti-Semitism is not only an offense against Jews; it is manifestly an insult to the entire human race. In seeking to protect the rights of minorities, we are at the same time preserving the rights of the majority. Their status is justified only to the extent that minorities are permitted an equal protection under the law.

Prejudice can play no part in the world of peace and justice we seek. The eradication of anti-Semitism is a precise and meaningful step in furthering the cause of universal human rights. Nothing must prevent us from securing for the world Jewish community the equality of treatment which has for so long, and in so many places, been denied them.

Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of this House the resolution, to which I referred earlier, which expresses the sense of this body that the President, through our delegation in the United Nations, should take all further steps to win a universal condemnation of anti-Semitism in treaty form. I trust the resolution will be given immediate committee and House consideration.

H. RES. 668

Whereas the people of the United States, true to their traditions and heritage, vehemently condemn bigotry and race discrimination and deeply believe in the freedom of religion and in the individual dignity of man; and

Whereas the practice of racial and religious discrimination is contrary to the principles and desired objectives of the United Nations; and

Whereas the manifestations of anti-Semitism are a form of race and religious discrimination repugnant to all freemen everywhere: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives hereby expresses its support of the recent efforts on the part of the President, through the United States delegation to the

United Nations, to secure the universal condemnation of anti-Semitism as an international offense.

SEC. 2. It is the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should take such further steps as may be necessary, through the United States delegation to the United Nations, to secure in final treaty form a universal condemnation of anti-Semitism and, in connection therewith, to secure—

(1) a forthright pledge from each signatory state to eradicate anti-Semitism within its territory; and

(2) the adoption of appropriate methods to implement and enforce each such pledge.

#### TRIBUTE TO GENERAL MACARTHUR

(Mr. RIEHLMAN (at the request of Mr. BATTIN) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, we have lost a great soldier, statesman, and humanitarian with the passing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

It is fitting indeed that this American hero should lie in state in the rotunda of the Capitol where other Americans of immense stature have also lain in repose to be honored by their countrymen.

I would like to mention the last two times I saw the general—and these were certainly dissimilar circumstances.

Once was in Tokyo, Japan, where he was the complete ruler of the Japanese people. The second time was when he gave his speech of retirement to his fellow Americans at a joint meeting of the Congress.

In Japan, with the Subcommittee on Military Operations, our group spent 3 hours with the general.

I was immensely impressed with his knowledge of the Communist philosophy and its programs and designs. He was truly the ranking expert of his day on the area where he had spent so many years.

The last time I saw him was in this very Chamber after he was removed from his Far East Command.

Despite any possible difference with some Members of Congress over policy, there was hardly a dry eye in the Chamber as General MacArthur concluded his speech with the now immortal words:

Old soldiers never die—they just fade away.

This was an epic moment in history few of us will likely see again.

I wondered at that time, and I wonder now, how the course of history would have been changed if he would have been allowed to win the victory that was available to him.

I believe that he was denied the privilege of changing the course of Communist conquest—a change that would have benefited all mankind.

In his last days at Walter Reed Hospital, after one of three surgical operations, he said:

I will do the very best I can.

He always did the very best he could and it was very good indeed.

It is appropriate that this unusual man should be honored here in our capital during the Cherry Blossom Festival.